7. Religion.

The sedentary population of Turkestan as well as the Kazakhs 771
profess themselves to be Sunnite Moslems. But whereas the Kazakhs 656
are really Moslems only in name, the sedentary people, especially 661
the sedentary Uzbeks, have been marked from the beginning by great fanaticism, and probably in this connection they deserve first place among all the followers of Islam. This fanaticism was nurtured primarily by the so-called 'rais' 'duvanas' and 'ishans', of which the first have at present been abolished in the Russian possessions. The 'rais' were officials appointed by the government, whose chief task was to supervise the strict fulfillment of the precepts of the Koran, and to punish those who were indifferent or unconcerned. They were equipped for this purpose with a whip made of a wide, thick leather thong, and a wooden handle, with which they drove together to prayers those who systematically avoided the visits to the mosques. In addition, they mercilessly whipped the tradespeople in the bazaars who were guilty of profiting at the expense of the public through false measures or weights. Also the management of the control of [548]
prostitutes was transferred to the rais, and those evildoers caught 'in flagrante' were punished in a truly barbaric fashion. Since the rais were just as corruptible as the other officials, as a rule they called only those people to account who did not have the means to buy themselves off, so that the official activity of the rais appeared to be more of a well organized system of extortion. Since the Russians naturally had no particular interest in nurturing the fanaticism of the population of their Central Asian possessions, which was directed against all those of other creeds, they abolished the office of the rais in the areas under their domination, and they exist at the present time only in the khanates which are still independent.

/196/ The 'duvanas' are, in Turkestan, what the dervishes or 792
'kalantars' are in other Moslem lands. The duvanas usually live in a cloistered community and are celibates, although there are also married duvanas. Their number is rather large; at every bazaar and at every fair one meets whole crowds of singing, screeching duvanas, who assess the public for contributions. Their influence and the respect which they enjoy among the people is very great, which has always remained a mystery to me, for one can scarcely imagine a more vulgar, impudent, and repulsive throng than the duvanas. They

792 are recruited primarily from labor-shirking vagabonds who prefer to live at the expense of the stupidly credulous people, instead of earning their livelihood through honorable work. For this reason their conduct is no model for the ordinary folk. On the contrary they occupy about the lowest place in relation to moral depravity which a man can reach. /Figure 69a. Caption: Duvanas (Moslem mendicant friars). /They are so addicted to the use of opium, 'nasha' or 'hashish', and all possible unnatural vices, that the consequences of their debaucheries are as a rule already visible in their idiotic and bestial facial expressions. Therefore in Turkestan the word duvana is also synonymous with idiot. At the same time, naturally only for mercenary reasons, they are great fanatics and with their public /197/ inflammatory addresses in the streets and bazaars they incite the common people to the same fanaticism and to a blind hate against all people of different faiths. In the Russian dominions, for this reason, the duvanas too are forbidden to hold public sermons. They are not occupied with scientific work nor with any other sort of work, and live solely upon alms, which they collect or rather exact in a showy manner and with the greatest impudence. Among them, gratitude for a gift received is out of the question, for on the contrary, they believe they are doing the donor a favor by receiving alms from him and giving him an opportunity to perform an act pleasing to God.

One may get a general impression of the external appearance of the duvanas from Figure 69, in which there appear two typical specimens of this worthy lot. The most characteristic feature of a duvana's costume is the disproportionately large, tall, conic cap, of carpet material, which they wear summer and winter, and which constitutes the actual uniform of the duvanas, since such caps are not worn by anyone else. For the collection of alms, they carry on their arm or belt a shallow pumpkin gourd, cut in half horizontally. The upper part of the gourd, which is fastened to the larger lower part by a rope just like the lid of the incense burners in the Catholic and Orthodox churches, constitutes the lid of this peculiar poor box. In the left hand, the duvanas carry two short elaborate rods, bound together with an iron ring, and by rattling this they seek to draw the attention of the public to themselves. Their outfit is completed by a long massive staff, which often has various pieces of metal suspended on it, likewise intended for rattling. The entire remaining costume of the duvanas consists of a khalat held together by a rope, which is covered with hundreds of stains of all possible colors, shapes and sizes. Countless rags, often artificially attached, and parts of the lining hang down below this, and the naked body is visible through

1: von Schwarz--38a N-5 (ca 1895) 1900 RL1 Turkestan RL1

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Fig. 38. Duvanas (Moslem mendicant friars).

various holes as large as a hand. Thus in comparison with a Central 792
Asian duvana, Antisthenes and his pupil Diogenes would look like absolute dandies. These khalats, torn and ragged to the point of indecency, are likewise part of the uniform of the duvana; for I have noticed more than once, upon closer inspection, that even when the duvana wore a new khalat, it was completely covered with rags, visibly sewn on, to create the appearance of being damaged. Shirts and any sort of underwear are usually completely absent among the duvanas. Their feet either remain completely bare winter and summer, or else they wear /198/ enormous clumsy slippers of the kind of the famous slippers of the Bagdad merchant Kazem, which in their time brought their master so many thrashings and similar troubles.

The 'ishans' play an entirely different role than the duvanas. Their number is much smaller than that of the duvanas, and many travelers mistakenly take them for Moslem clerics. Actual clergy, in the manner of the Christian church, does not exist among the Moslems at all, as is well known. The mullahs are nothing more than scribes and prayer leaders in the mosques, whose function can be taken over by any proper Moslem without the need of some higher authorization. The ishans are men who, like the duvanas, prefer a parasitic life at the expense of the believers to honorable labor, but at the same time they are too proud and genteel to attach themselves to the duvanas. They are usually men who have seen better days, but have squandered their fortunes in one way or another. They claim to have a monopoly on special piety and holiness, establish themselves beside some mosque or at the grave of an ostensible saint, and pass their free time with a sort of rosary in their hands in outward prayer, at which time they choose by predilection a position where they can be seen by everyone. Since of course the ishans have no time to earn their livelihood, because they pray aloud, their fellow religionists make sure that they lack for nothing, for they believe that they are building themselves a stairway to heaven by the support of such men who are enlightened by God. Thus the ishans lead a comfortable and untroubled life, clothe themselves in the finest materials of some striking color especially red or white, and keep servants and horses. At all festivities and banquets they are given the first place, and at the common prayers they are given the honorary office of the leader of the prayers.

Among the Moslems of Central Asia, a privileged position is 788
enjoyed also by all those who have made a pilgrimage to the grave of the prophet in Mecca. Here also these men bear the title of 'hadji'